

PERSECUTION

Inconsistent

With Christianity, Humane Society,
and the Honour of

PRINCES.

FROM

The Testimonies of Themselves, and approved
Authors, and Martyrs, herein impartially
Collected.

Whereto is added certain solid Reasons why no outward
Force, nor Imposition ought to be used in matters of
Faith, &c. By those faithfull Witnesses who died under
Suffering for the Testimony of Jesus: viz.

Richard Hubberthorn.

Samuel Fisher.

Francis Howgill.

This being the third Edition of the said Reasons.

Now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for
if this Counsel, or this Work be of men, it will come to nought; but
if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it, lest happily ye be found
fighting against God. Acts 5. 38, 39.

Printed in the Year, 1670.

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*Persecution inconsistent with Christianity,
Humane Society, and the Honour
of Princes.*

SECT. I.

*King Charles the second, his Promises and Declara-
tions for the Liberty of tender Consciences.*

IN the Kings Letter from *Bredah*, that was sent to the House of Peers, and read in the House, May the 1st. 1660. and which Letter was ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that it should be forthwith printed and published for the service of the House, and satisfaction of the Kingdoms; it is said in the Book of Collections of the Kings Speeches, Page 8, and 9. *And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several Opinions in Religion, by which men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other; which when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of Conversion, will be composed, or better understood. We do declare a liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences in Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliaments, as upon Mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that Indulgence.*

And in the Kings Declaration, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, which was dated October the 25th, 1660. it is said, *In a word we do again renew what we have formerly said, in our Declaration from Bredah, for the liberty of tender Consciences, That no*

man shall be disguised, or called in question for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and if any have been disturbed in that kind, since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours. And it is said, We do in the first place declare, Our Purpose and Resolution is, and shall be, to promote the Power of Godliness, and to encourage the Exercise of Religion, both in publique and private. And in the same Declaration it is said, Our present Consideration and work is, To gratifie the private Consciences of those who are grieved with the use of some Ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with the omitting these Ceremonies.

In the Kings Speech to both houses of Parliament, the 8th of July, 1661. It is to put my self in mind, as well as you, That I so often (I think so often as I come to you) mention to you my Declaration from Breda; And let me put you in mind of another Declaration, published by your selves about the same time, and which I am persuaded will prove the more effectual; An Honest, Generous, and Christian Declaration, signed by the most eminent Persons, who had been the most eminent Sufferers; in which you renounced all former Animosities, and memory of former Unkindnesses. And my Lords and Gentlemen, let it be in no mans power to charge me, or you, with the breach of our Words or Promises, which can never be a good Ingredient to our future security.

And in the Chancellors Speech to both Houses, May the 8th, 1661. It is said, He told you, but now (meaning the King) that he valed himself much, upon keeping his word, upon performing all that he promiseth to his People.

And also in the Kings discourse with Richard Hubberton, soon after he arrived in England, he said, Well, of this you may be assured, That you shall none of you suffer for your Opinions or Religion, so long as you live peaceably, and you have the Word of a King for it; and I also have given forth a Declaration to the same purpose, That none shall wrong you or Abuse you.

And further in the Kings Declaration, dated Decem. 26. 1662. wherein he declares, first, his wonderful Restoration without the least blood-shed by the Military Sword.

And he expresseth his Clemency, or the Clemency of his Nature.

And

And he vindicates himself from divers suggestions, of distressed Persons, particularly from that, of intending to Subject Persons and Estates to revenge of spoil, &c. and from intending to introduce a *Military* or *Arbitrary* way of Government.

Also he expresseth these words, as a *malicious Scandal* (*viz.*) 'That having made use of such solemn Promises from *Bredah*, and in several Declarations since, of ease and liberty to tender Consciences, instead of performing any part of them, we have added streighter Fetters then ever.

And further adds, *viz.* 'We find it as artificially, as maliciously divulged throughout the whole Kingdom, that at the same time we deny a fitting Liberty to those other Sects of our Subjects, whose Consciences will not allow them to conform to the Religion established; We are highly indulgent to *Papists*, even to such a degree of countenance as may even endanger the *Protestant* Religion.

These, and such like, in the said Declaration are related as venomous Insinuations, most false and malicious Scandals, wicked and malicious Suggestions, and the Fomenters of them, as the most dangerous Enemies of his Crown and of the Peace and Happiness of the Nation.

And these words are further added, (*viz.*) 'It having been alwayes a constant profession of ours, That we do, and shall ever think our royal dignity and greatness much more happily and securely founded on our own Clemency, and our Subjects Loves, then in their Fears and our Power.

'To give our People a Testimony of our founding all our security, rather in their affections, then in any Military Power; the sole strength and security, we shall ever confide in, shall be the hearts and affections of our Subjects indured and confirmed to us by our *Gracious* and *Steady* manner of Government, according to the antient known *Laws* of the Land, there being not any one of our Subjects, who doth more from his heart abhor (then we our selves) all sorts of *Military* and *Arbitrary* Rule.

'As concerning the non performance of our Promises, we remember well the very words of those from *Bredah*, (*viz.*) 'We

“ We do declare a liberty to tender Consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question for differences of Opinion in matters of Religion, which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as upon Mature deliberation shall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence. We remember well the Confirmations, we have made of them since upon several occasions in Parliament; and as all these things are still fresh in our memory, so are we still firm in the Resolution of performing them to the full.

“ We do conceive our selves so far engaged, both in honour, and in what we owe to the Peace of our Dominions, which we profess we can never think secure, whilst there shall be a colour left to the disaffected, to inflame the minds of so many Multitudes, upon the scores of Consciences, with despair of ever obtaining any effect of our Promises for their ease.

“ Such an Act, as in pursuance of our Promises the wisdom of our Parliament shall think fit to offer unto us for the ease of tender Consciences.

“ We profess it would be grievous unto us to consent, to the putting any of our Subjects to death for their Opinions in matter of Religion only.

“ Our expressing according to Christian Charity, Our dislike of Blood-shed for Religion only.

“ Our Parliament is an Assembly so eminent in their Loyalty and their Zeal, for the Peace and Prosperity of our Kingdomes---can no wayes be doubted in the performance of all our Promises, and to the effecting all those gracious intentions, which God knows our heart is full of, for the PLENTY, PROSPERITY, and UNIVERSAL SATISFACTION of the NATION.

“ We think to give them the most important Marks of our care: First, In punishing by severe Laws that Licentiousness and Impiety, which we find to our great grief, hath overspread the Nation.

“ And

And lastly so to improve the good consequence---to the advancement of trade, that all our Subject finding the advantage---in that prime foundation of plenty, they may all, with minds happily composed by our clemency and indulgence (instead of taking up thoughts of deserting their professions) apply themselves comfortably, and with redoubled industry to their several vocations, &c.

Also in the Votes and Advice of the House of Commons, Febr. 3. 1662: Upon reading the Kings Declaration and Speech, are these words, (viz.) 'And our hearts are further enlarged in these returns of Thanks-giving when we consider your Majesties most Princely, and Heroick professions of relying upon the affections of your People, AND ABHORRING ALL SORTS OF MILITARY AND ARBITRARY RULE, &c.

SECT. II

S E C T. II.

Here follows some remarkable Observations, collected out of a Book, entituled, ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΚΑΕΚΤΙΚΗ, *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying*; shewing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other mens Faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting different Opinions; by *Per. Tayler D. D.* (so filed) Chaplin in Ordinary to his late Majesty.

IN his Epistle Dedicatory are these words: viz. 'As contrary as *Cruelty* is to *Mercy*, as *Tyranny* to *Charity*; so is *War* and *Bloodshed* to the *Meekness* and *Gentleness* of *Christian Religion*.

And further speaks, to dispute men into Mercies, Compliances and Tollerations mutual; and further adds.

'I designed a Discourse to this purpose, with as much greediness, as if I had thought it possible with my Arguments to have perswaded the rough and hard handed Souldiers to have disbanded presently; for I had often thought of the Prophecie, that in the Gospel, our Swords should be turned into Plow-shares, and our Spears into Pruning-hooks.

'I thought it my duty to plead for Peace and Charity, and Forgiveness, and *Permissions* mutual.

'Although we must contend earnestly for the Faith, yet this contention must be with Arms fit for the Christian Warfare, the Sword of the Spirit, the Shield of Faith, &c. but not with other Arms; for a Church-man must not be a Striker, for the Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal, but Spiritual.

'I being most of all troubled, that men should be persecuted, and afflicted, for disagreeing in such opinions, which they can-

cannot with sufficient grounds obtrude upon others necessarily, because they cannot propound them infallibly.

Considerations (are to be had) to the Persons of men, and to the Laws of Charity more then to the trimmings in any Opinion, &c.

If the Persons be Christians in their life, and Christians in their profession; if they acknowledge the Eternal Son of God for their Master, and the Lord, and live in all relations as becomes Persons making such professions, why then should I hate such Persons whom God loves, and who love God, who are partakers of Christ, and Christ hath a Title to them, who dwell in Christ, and Christ in them, because their understandings have not been brought up like mine, have not had the same Masters, they have not met with the same Books——have not the same Opinions that I have, and do not determine their School Questions to the same sence of my Sect or Interest?

And whatsoever is against the Foundation of Faith or contrary to good Life---or distructive to humane society---is out of the limits of my Question, and doth not pretend to compliance or tolleration.

The fault I find and seek to remedy is, That men are so dogmatical and resolute in their Opinions, and impatient of others disagreeing in those things wherein is no sufficient means of Union and Determination, but that men should let Opinions and Problems not be obtruded as Actions, nor Questions in the vast collection of the Systeme of divinity be adopted into the Family of Faith.

3. Its hard to say, that he who would not have men put to death or punished corporally for such things, for which no humane authority is sufficient for Cognizance, or Determination, or competent for infliction; that he perswades to an indifferency when he refers to another Judicatory, which is competent, sufficient, infallable, just, and highly severe---for God alone must be Judge of these matters, who alone is Master of our Souls, and hath the Dominion over humane understanding — God alone is Judge of erring Persons.

I earnestly contend, that another mans Opinion shall be no Rule to mine, and that my Opinion shall be no Snare and Prejudice to my self; that men use one another so charitably, that no error or violence tempt men to *Hypocrisie*, this very thing being one of the Arguments I used to perswade Permissions, lest Compulsion introduce *Hypocrisie*, and make Sincerity troublesome, &c.

From the Dictates of holy Scripture, it is observable, that this, with its appendant degrees, I mean, restraint of Prophecy, imposing upon other mens understandings, being Masters of their Consciences, and lording it over their Faith, came in with the retinue and train of Antichrist, as other abuses and corruptions of the Church did, by reason of the iniquity of the times, and the cooling of the first heats of Christianity, and the encrease of interest, and the abatements of Christian simplicity, when the Churches fortune grew better, and her Sons grew worse, and some of her Fathers worst of all: For in the first three hundred Years there was no sign of persecuting any man for his Opinion, though at that time there were very horrid Opinions commenced----and they who used all means----Christian and Spiritual, for their disimprovement and conviction, thought not of using corporal force----and therefore I do not only urge their not doing it, as an Argument of the unlawfulness of such proceeding, but their defying it, and speaking against such practises as unreasonable, and destructive to Christianity, for so *Tertullian* is express, *Humani juris & naturalis potestatis uni cuique quod putaverit colere, sed nec religionis est cogere religionem qua suscipi debet sponte non vi*: its of humane right and natural power for every one to worship what he thinks; but neither is it the part of Religion to compel Religion, which ought to be undertaken of its own accord.

The same is the Doctrine of *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Hilary*, *Minutius*, *Felix*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus*, *Chrisostom*, *Hierom*, *Austin*, *Damasen*, *Theophilact*, *Socrates Scholasticus*, and *Bernard*.

All wise Princes till they were over-born with Faction, and so-

‘Solicited by peevish persons, gave Tolleration to differing Sects---But at first there were some heretical persons, that were so impatient, they were the men that first intreated the Emperor to persecute the Catholicks: but till four hundred years after Christ, no Catholick persons, or very few, did provoke the secular Arm, or implore its aid against the Hereticks; save only that *Arrius* behaved himself so seditiously and tumultuarily, that the *Nicene* Fathers procured a temporary Decree for his relegation; but it was soon taken off, and God left to be his Judge.

‘But as the Ages grew worse, so men grew more cruel and unchristian; and in the Greek Church *Atticus* and *Nestorius* of *Constantinople*, *Theodotius* of *Synoda*, and some few others, who had forgotten the mercies of their great Master, and their own duty, grew implacable, and furious, and impatient of contradiction.

‘It was a bold and arrogant Speech which *Nestorius* made in his Sermon before *Theodosius* the younger; *Damih, O Imperator, terram ab Hæreticis repugnatum & ego tibi vicissim eulam dabo; disperde mecum Hæreticos, & ego tecum disperdam Persus*; which is in English, O Emperor, give to me the Land purged from Hereticks; and I, instead thereof, will give thee Heaven: destroy me the Hereticks, and I will destroy with thee the *Persians*: It was as groundless, as unwarrantable, as it was bloody and inhumane. And we see the contrary events prove truer; for *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* were prosperous Princes, and have the reputation of great piety; but they were so far from doing what *Nestorius* had suggested, that they restrained him from his violence and immanity; and *Theodosius* did highly commend *B. Proclus*, for his sweetness of deportment towards erring persons, far above the cruelty of his Predecessor *Atticus*.

‘And the experience which *Christendom* hath had in this last age, is Argument enough, That Tolleration of differing Opinions is so far from disturbing the publick peace, or destroying the Interest of Princes, and Common-wealths, that it doth advantage the Publick, it secures the Peace, because there is not

‘ so much as the Pretence of Religion left to such persons to
 ‘ contend for, it being already indulged to them.

‘ When *France* fought against the *Hugonots*, the Spilling of
 ‘ their own Blood was Argument enough of the imprudence of
 ‘ that way of promoting Religion; but since she hath given
 ‘ permission to them, &c.

‘ The great instance is in the differing Temper, Govern-
 ‘ ment, and Success which *Margaret* of *Parma*, and the Duke
 ‘ of *Alva* had; the clemency of the first had almost distinguished
 ‘ the Flame; but when she was removed, *D. Alva* succeeded, and
 ‘ managed the matter of Religion with Fire and Sword, he
 ‘ made the Flame so great, that his Religion, and his Prince
 ‘ too, had both been almost turned out of the Countrey; *Pelli e*
 ‘ *medio sapientiam quoties vi res agitur*, said *Ennius*, [*Wisdom is dri-*
 ‘ *ven out, when the matter is acted by force.*]

[‘ And therefore the best of men, and most glorious of Prin-
 ‘ ces, were alwayes ready to give Tolleration.]

‘ *Eusebius* in his second Book of the life of *Constantine*, reports
 ‘ these words of the Emperor, *Pax cum fidelibus ij qui errant*
 ‘ *pacis, & quietis fruitionem gaudentes accipiant: ipsa si quidem com-*
 ‘ *municationis & societatis restitutio ad rectam etiam veritatis viam*
 ‘ *perducere potest; nemo cuiquam molestus sit, quisque quod animo de-*
 ‘ *stinat hoc etiam faciat; Let them which err with joy receive the like*
 ‘ *fruition of Peace and quietness with the faithfull, with the restoring*
 ‘ *of communication and society may bring them into the right Way of*
 ‘ *Truth: Let none give molestation to any; let every one do as he de-*
 ‘ *termines in his mind.*

‘ And indeed there is great reason for Princes to give Tol-
 ‘ leration to disagreeing persons, whose Opinions cannot by
 ‘ fair means be altered; for if the persons be confident, they
 ‘ will serve God according to their persuasions; and if they be
 ‘ publicly prohibited, they will privately convene, and then
 ‘ all those inconveniences, and mischiefs, which are Argu-
 ‘ ments against the permission of Conventicles, are Arguments
 ‘ for the publick permissions of differing Religions, &c. —
 ‘ they being restrained, and made miserable, indears the dis-

contented persons mutuall, and makes more hearry and dangerous confederations.

King James in his Letters to the States of the United-Provinces, dated Mar. 6. 1613. thus wrot—*Is aut prohibeatis Ministros vestros ne eas disputationes in suggestum aut ad plebem ferant, ac districte imperetis ut pacem colant se in vicem tolerando in ista opinionum ac sententiarum discrepantia.*—— So that you may forbid your Ministers, that they bring not those Disputations into the Pulpit, or to the People, and strickly command, that they embrace peace among themselves, by Tollerating in that difference of Opinions, and Judgments.

The Counsel like in the divisions of Germany, at the first Reformation, was thought reasonable by the Emperor Ferdinand, and his excellent Son Maximilian; for they had observed, That Violence did exasperate, was unblest, unsuccessful, and unreasonable; and therefore they made Decrees of Tolleration.

And the Duke of Savoy repenting of his War, undertaken for Religion against the *Piedmontans*, promised them Toleration; and was as good as his word-----As much is done by the nobility of *Polonia*: so that the best Princes and the best Bishops gave Toleration and Impunities (but it is known, that the first Persecution of disagreeing Persons was by the *Arrians*, by *Circumcellians*, and *Donatists*, and from them they of the Church took Example, &c.) And among the *Greeks* it became a publick and authorized practise, till the question of Images grew hot and high; for then the Worshippers of Images, having taken their example from the Empress *Irene*, who put her sons eyes out for making an Edict against Images, began to be as cruel, as they were deceived, especially, being encouraged by the Pope of *Rome*, who then blew the Coales to some purpose.

I may upon this occasion give account of this affair in the Church of *Rome*. it is remarkable that till the time of *Justinian* the Emperor, *A. D.* 525. the *Catholicks* and *Novatians* had Churches indifferently permitted even in *Rome* it self, but the Bishops of *Rome*, whose interest was much concerned in it, spoke

Spoke much against it, and laboured the eradication of the *Novarians*; and at last when they got power into their hands they served them accordingly; but it is observed by *Sozocrates* that when the first persecution was made against them at *Rome* by Pope *Innocent* the first, at the same instant the *Goths* invaded *Italy*, and became Lords of all, it being just in God, &c.

And I have heard it observed as a blessing upon *S. Austin* (who was so merciful to erring Persons) as the greatest part of his life—to tolerate them, and never to indure that they should be given over to the secular power to be killed) that the very night the *Vandals* set down before his City of *Hippo*, to besiege it, he died, and went to God; being taken from the miseries to come.

But in the Church of *Rome*, the Popes were the first Preachers of Force and Violence in matters of Opinion, and that so zealously that Pope *Vigilius* suffered himself to be imprisoned, and handled roughly by the Emperor *Justinian*, rather than he would consent to the restitution and peace of certain disagreeing persons, &c.

The first that preached that Doctrine was *Dominick*, the Founder of the begging Order of *Friars*: The *Friars* Preachers, in memory of which the Inquisition is intrusted only to the *Fryars* of his order; and if there be any force in Dreams, or truth in Legends, &c.—This very thing might be signified by his mothers Dream, who the night before *Dominick* was born, dreamed she was brought to bed of a huge Dog, with a Fire-brand in his mouth; sure enough however his Disciples expound the Dream, it was a better sign that he should prove a *Rabid*, furious incendiary than any thing else, what ever he might be in the other parts of his life; in this Doctrine he was not much better, as appears in his deportment towards the *Abligences*, against whom he so preached — *Adeo quidem ut centum hereticorum millia ab octo millibus catholicorum fusa & interfecta fuisse probantur*, saith one of him, and of those who were taken one hundred and eighty were burned to death, because they would not abjure their Doctrine;

* Erine; this was the the first Example of putting erring Persons to death, that I find in the *Romish Church*.

* By this time I hope it will not be thought unreasonable to say, He that teaches mercy to erring Persons teaches indifferency in Religion, unless so many Fathers, and so many Churches, and the best of Emperors, and all the World (till they were abused by Tyranny, Popery and faction) did teach indifferency: For

* I have shewn that Christianity doth not punish corporally persons erring Spiritually, but indeed Popery doth.

* The *Donatists*, and *Circumcelians*, and *Arrians*, and *Itacians*, they of old did in the middle Ages; the Patrons of Images did, and the Papists at this day do, and have done ever since they were taught it by their *St Dominick*.

* Let all Errors be as much, and as zealously suppressd as may be, but let it be done by such means as are proper instruments of their suppression, by Preaching and Disputation, by Charity and Sweetness, by Holiness of Life, Assiduity of Exhortation, by the Word of God, and Prayer.

* For these ways are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable and effectual, only let not men be hasty, in calling every disliked Opinion by the name of Heresie; and when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a Brother, not beat him like a Dog, or convince him with a Gibbet, or vex him out of his understanding or perswasion.

Thus far *Jer. Taylor*, these Passages being truly collected out of his Epistle, where are many more to the same purpose, to which the Reader is referred for further satisfaction, if he desire it: And further in his Sixteenth Section, for the lawfulness of Princes giving Tolleration to several Religions, he hath these Passages.

* For it may be safe in diversity of perswasions; and it is also a part of Christian Religion, that the Liberty of mens Consciences should be preserved in all things, where God hath not set a limit.—

That

‘ That the Soul of man should be free, and acknowledge no Master but Jesus Christ.

‘ That matters Spiritual should not be restrained by punishments corporal.

‘ That the same meekness and Charity should be preserved in the promotion of Christianity, that gave it foundation, and increment, and firmness in its first publication.

‘ And that Persons should not more certainly be condemned than their Opinions confuted.

‘ And lastly, That the Infirmities of men, and difficulties of things, should be both put in ballance, to make abatement in the diffinitive sentence against mens persons.

‘ As Christian Princes must look to the interest of their Government; so especially must they consider the interests of Christianity, and not call every redargution, or modesty, discovery of an established Error, by the name of the disturbance of the Peace; For,

‘ It is very likely that the peevishness, and impatience of contradiction in the Governors may break the peace.

‘ Let them but remember the Gentleness of Christianity; the Liberty of Consciences which ought to be preserved; and let them do justice to the persons, whoever they are that are peevish; provided no mans person be over-born with prejudice: For

‘ If it be necessary for all men to subscribe to the present established Religion; by the same reason, at another time, a man may be bound to subscribe to the contradictory, and so to all Religions in the World. Uncharitableness is much prevented when no person is on either side engaged upon revenge, or troubled with disgrace, or vexed with punishments, by any decretory sentence against him: It was the saying of a wise States-man, (I mean *Tiberianus*) *Heretici qui pace data factionibus scinduntur, persecutione ununtur contra. Remp.* — If you persecute Hereticks, or Discrepants, they unite themselves as to a common defence if you permit them, they divide themselves upon private interest, and the rather, if this interest was an ingredient of the Opinion.

S E C T. III.

Instances out of divers Authors treating on the same Subject, by *William Caton*, deceased.

Chrysostomus said, 'It is not the manner of the Children of God to persecute others to death about their Religion; but it hath been, and is their condition to be put to death themselves for the Testimony of the Truth. 'Moreover, (said he) the shedding of Blood about Religion, is an evident token of Antichrist, *Relig. Unif. pag. 192.*

Haywardus said, 'That the best Writers of that time did agree in one opinion, and with *Tertulliano, Lactantio, Casiodoro, and Josephus, &c.* That People must inform men to embrace Religion with Reason, and not compel them by violence.

'I have for long season determined, said one of the Kings of France, to reform the Church, which without Peace (said he) I cannot do, and it is impossible to reform, or convert people by violence.

'I am King, as a Shepherd, (said he) and will not shed the Blood of my Sheep; but will gather them through the mildness and goodness of a King, and not through the power of Tyranny: And I will give them that are of the reformed Religion right Liberty to live and dwell free, without being examined, perplexed, molested, or compelled to any thing contrary to their Consciences; for they shall have the free exercise of their Religion, &c. *vide Chron. Vande Underg. 2. deel. pag. 1514.*

Luther said, 'That the Hypocrites Church was to be known by its Manners, whose Image and Sign was *Esau*, yet she boasted of God, and would be accounted his Church, but

C

'lived

lived wholly according to the World. Further, (said he) the true Church is not defended by a Fleshly Arm, which wicked Bishops especially use, and cry unto. *Theſau. pag. 622.*

Calvin said, 'That the Apostle gave to understand, That to exercise authority over ones Faith, was in no wise just, nor tollerable: (yea said he) It is Tyranny in the Church; for FAITH ought to be free from all Subjection of men.

When several of the Priests in the low Countries requested of the Prince and States, that they would introduce Ordinances and Discipline, according to their Opinions, but the Prince, and the States, rejected their requests, esteeming them prejudicial both to Religion and Policy, when they observed the diverse Opinions that were among the People, concluding, *It was the best way to preserve unity among the People, to give Liberty to all, and so Compel none.* Anno 1608. Edict. Fol. 27.

Arenaeus affirmed, 'That all forcing of Conscience, though it was but a forbidding of the Exercise, which is esteemed by one or another, to be necessary to Salvation, is in no wise right nor fitting: He also affirmed, 'That through diversities of Religions the Kingdom should not be brought in to any disturbance.

The Antient Reformed Protestants termed that forcing of Conscience, when they were constrained to leave off the exercise of their Religion, saying, '*Car nous privons de nostre Religion on nous tiendrait en une continuelle mort corporelle & spirituelle*' (that is) For to deprive us of our Religion, is to keep us in a perpetual corporal and spiritual death; adding therunto, 'How that they would rather be put to death then be bereaved of the exercise of their Religion, &c. And also they testified, how that the Religion which was defended with Cruelty, was not grounded upon the Word of God.

Lactantius said, 'If you will with blood, with evil, and with torments, defend the Worship, it shall not thereby be defended but polluted. *Lib. 3. Chap. 20.*

Constantine the Emperor said, 'That it was enough that he pre-

‘preserved the unity of the FAITH, that he might be ex-
 ‘cusable before the Judgment Seat of God; and that he would
 ‘leave every one to his own understanding, according to the
 ‘account he will give before the Judgment Seat of Christ. Here-
 ‘to may we stir up People (*said he*) not compel them, *befeech*
 ‘them to come into the unity of the Christians; but to do VI-
 ‘OLENCE to them, we will not in no wise. *Sabast. Frank.*
Gron. Fol. 127.

Augustinus said, ‘Some disturbed the Peace of the Church
 ‘while they went about to root out the TARES before the
 ‘time; and through this Error of *Blindness* (*said he*) are they
 ‘themselves separated, so much the more from being united
 ‘unto Christ.

Resnallius testified, ‘That he who with Imprisoning and
 ‘Persecuting seeketh to spread the Gospel, and greaseth his
 ‘Hands with Blood, shall much rather be looked upon for a
 ‘wild Hunter, then a Preacher, or a Defender of the Christian
 ‘Religion.

The State of Holland testified, ‘*Dat waer vervolginghen Zijn*
 ‘*datter daer al in roere is, maer waer geen en sijn al sijdor verscheijden*
 ‘*Religion dat dare alle saetren stilder sijn so oet in onse ijden is bevon-*
 ‘*den:* that is, Where there was Persecution, there was all in dis-
 ‘traction, but where there was none (though there were se-
 ‘veral Religions) there all things were the quieter, as hath been
 ‘evident in our dayes, *said they, Vide Vrede Handel Van. Col.*
 ‘*Fol. 33.*

Calvin said, ‘That those that are set over us must be obeyed,
 ‘if that the Command of God be not thereby disobeyed; but
 ‘if they lead us from obedience to God, and presumptuously
 ‘strive against the Lord, then must they not be regarded, *said he,*
 ‘to the end that God with his Authority may retain the pre-
 ‘eminence.

A Book written in French, by N. M. Anno 1576. hath
this Sentence in it

‘Those Princes that have ruled by *Gentleness* and *Clemency*,
 C 2 ‘ad-

‘ added to justice ; and have exercised *Moderation* and *Mercy* towards their Subjects, alwayes greatly Prospered, and Reigned long.

‘ But on the contrary, those Princes that have been *Cruel*, *Unjust*, *Perfidious*, and *Oppressors* of their Subjects, have soon fallen, they and their Estate into danger, or total ruin.

Verisus said, ‘ Seeing Christ is a L A M B, whom you profess to be your Head and Captain, then it becometh you to be Sheep, and to use the same W E A P O N S, which he made use of ; for he will not be a Shepherd of *Wolves*, and wild *Beasts*, but onely of S H E E P ; wherefore if you lose the Nature of Sheep (*said he*) and be changed into Wolves, and wild Beasts, and use fleshy Weapons, then will you exclude your selves out of his Calling; and forsake his Banner, and then will he not be your Captain.

Stephanus King of Poland said, ‘ It belongeth not to me to reform the Conscience, I have alwayes gladly given that over to God, which belongeth to him, and so shall I do now ; and also for the future, I will suffer the W E E D S to grow until the time of Harvest; for I know that the number of *Believers* are but small, therefore, said he, when some were proceeding in persecution, ‘ *Ego sum Rex Populorum non Conscientiarum*, that is, I am the King of the People, not of their Consciences : he also affirmed, ‘ That Religion was not to be planted with F I R E and S W O R D, *Chron. Van. de Rel. Vrijh. 2. deel.*

Tindal said, ‘ The New Testament of Christ suffered no Law of Compelling, but alone of Persuading, and Exhorting, *Fox. Acts and Mon. page 1338.*

The Prince of *Orange* testified, Anno 1579. ‘ That it was impossible that the Land should be kept in Peace except there was a free Tolleration in the Exercise of Religion.

‘ Where hast thou ever read in thy dayes (*said Menno*) in the Writing of the Apostles, that Christ or the Apostles ever cryed out to the Magistrates, for their Power, against them that would not hear their Doctrine, nor obey their Words ? I know certainly, said he, that where the Magistrate shall Banish

• nish with the *SWORD*, there is not the right Knowledge,
 • spiritual Word, nor Church of Christ, it is *Invocare Brachi-*
um Seculare.

• It is not Christian like, but Tyrannical, said *D. Philipson*,
 • to Banish and Persecute People about *F A I T H* and *Religion*,
 • and they that so do are certainly of the *Pharisaical* Generati-
 on, who resisted the Holy Ghost.

Erasmus said, ' That though they take our *Moneys* and *Goods*,
 • they cannot therefore hurt our *Salvation*; they afflict us much
 • with *Prisons*, but they do not thereby separate us from *God*,
In de Krijghe wrede, Fol. 63.

Lucernus said, ' He that comandeth any thing, wherewith he
 • bindeth the Conscience, this is an Antichrist, *Inde Benuſe*
disp. Fol. 71.

It was *Luther's* Opinion, ' That those that stirred up the
 • Princes to persecute about Religion, they raised the Uproar,
Theſaur. pag. 679.

REASONS

REASONS FOR Liberty of Conscience.

SECT. IV.

Several Reasons rendred, why no outward Force, nor Imposition, ought to be used in Matters of Faith and Religion, by R. H. S. F. and F. H.

LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE ought to be allowed in the dayes of the Gospel, in the free Exercise of it to God-ward (without Compulsion) in all things relating to His Worship, for these *REASONS* following.

1. Because the General and Universal Royal-Law of Christ commands it, *Matth. 7. 12. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the Law and Prophets* ————— That which every man would have, and receive from another, he ought by Christs *RULE* to give and allow it to another. But every man is willing to have the *LIBERTY* of his *OWN CONSCIENCE*, therefore ought to *ALLOW* it to another.

2. Be-

2. Because no man can persuade the Conscience of another, either what God is; or how he should be worshipped, but by the Spirit, which God hath given to instruct man in the Ways of Truth.

3. Because, all Obedience or Service that is obtained by force, is for fear of Wrath, and not from Love, nor for Conscience sake; and therefore will but continue so long as that fear or force abides upon them.

4. Because, that by forcing, no man can make a Hypocrite to be a true Believer; but on the contrary, many may be made Hypocrites.

5. Because, that in all forced Impositions upon mens Consciences, there is something of the wrath of man exercised, which works not the Righteousness of God, but rather begets enmity in the heart one towards another.

6. Because, that by forcing any thing upon mens Consciences, as to matters of Faith and Worship, many are hardened in their hearts against the things imposed; when as otherwise, through Love and gentle Instructions their hearts might be persuaded to willing obedience.

7. Because, that Persecution for Conscience contradiceth Christs Charge, *Matth. 13.* who bids that the Tares (or false Worshipers) be suffered to grow together in the Field (or World) till the Harvest (or End of the World.)

8. Because, Force is contrary to the end for which it is pretended to be used: (*viz.*) The preservation and safety of the Wheat, which End is not answered by Persecution; because the Wheat is in danger to be plucked up thereby, as Christ saith.

9. Because to Force is inconsistent with the belief of the Jews Conversion (and other false Worshipers) which is prayed for by the publick Teachers, and cannot be attained, if Persecution for Conscience be prosecuted.

10. Because they that impose upon mens Consciences, exercise Dominion over mens Faith, which the Apostles denied, saying, *They had not Dominion over any mans Faith.*

11. Because, Imposition upon mens Consciences necessitates them

them to sin, in yielding a Conformity contrary to their own Faith; for whatsoever is not of a mans own Faith, is sin.

12. Because, that Imposition and Force wrestles with Flesh and blood, and carnal Weapons, which are contrary to the Apostles Doctrine, who said, *Our Weapons are not Carnal, but Spiritual, and Mighty through God; and we wrestle not with Flesh, and Blood.*

13. Because, there is but *One Judge, Law-giver, and King* in and over the Conscience, as the Saints have testified in the Scriptures of Truth; and whosoever would intrude, so as to be Judge and Law-giver over the Conscience, intrencheth upon the Privilege of Christ, *Isa. 33. 22. James 4. 12.*

14. Because, it is prophesied in *Isa. 11. The Wolf shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and there shall be no Destroyer in all the Holy Mountain: And therefore no Imposition upon mens Consciences.*

15. Because, to impose upon mens Consciences for differences in Faith, is contrary to the Advice of the Apostle, who directs *Prophets wait upon God to be satisfied, and not to the Magistrates, or others, to be forced; who saith, Whereunto we have attained, let us walk; and wherein any man is otherwise minded, God shall reveal, even that unto him.*

16. Because, to force mens Consciences, and to lay Yokes upon them, is to make void the Blood-shed and Sufferings of Christ, who sits upon the Throne of the Conscience, and gives liberty there; and commands us to stand fast in that liberty, and not to be entangled through the Impositions of men, or Yoke of bondage, *Gal. 5. 6.*

17. Because, in all Nations the different Professions and Perswasions of Religion, are either Friends or Enemies to the Governors; if Friends then obliged by that bond, if Enemies then Christ's Command is to take place, who saith, *Love your Enemies*, which if observed, Persecution for Conscience will be avoided.

18. Because Toleration of different Perswasions in Religion was allowed in the Jewish State, as not inconsistent with their

Safe-

Safety, and that in things contrary each to other, as the *Soldiers, Pharisees, Esau's, Herodians*, with others.

19. Because, the true *Religion* cannot be preached up, by force of *ARMES*, and the primitive *Christians* detested that Form of Proceedings.

20. Because, no man hath such power (by outward compulsion) over the Souls and Consciences of other men, as to lay a necessity on them to believe that which they do not believe, or not to believe what they do believe; true Faith being the Gift of God.

21. Because, If the Magistrate imposeth upon the Conscience, he must either do it as a Magistrate, or as a Christian. Not as a Magistrate, for then *Heathens* (being Magistrates) have the same power to impose; and so, by *Revolutions*, and *Conquests*, may come to give Laws to Christians, and compel them to Idolatry. 2. Not as *Christians*, for that contradicts Christ's saying, *The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them, but it shall not be so among you, for all ye are Brethren*.

22. Because, by the same *Rule* and *Reason* that the Magistrates of one Nation ought to impose upon, and persecute for Conscience, the Magistrates in all other Nations ought to do the same, and so the greatest part of Mankind may come to be destroyed, there being more that Dissent, than are at Unity in Matters of Faith and Religion.

23. Because the strength of *Truth*, and its Conquest over *Falsity* and *Deceit* is best discovered by letting both have their *Liberty*, from outward Compulsion; For no doubt, had outward Force been less used, the prevalency of Truth had been more manifest, and that wise Saying, truly experienced in the World, viz. *That which is of God will stand, and that which is not, will come to nothing*.

24. Because, the Disciples of Christ are rebuked by him for desiring the Destruction of those that were contrary to him, and would not receive Him; which zeal is sharply reprov'd in his Saying, *They knew not what Spirit they were of*.

25. Because, to impose upon mens Consciences, and to destroy

stroy their Persons for difference in *Religion*, is contrary to the end of Christ's coming, who saith, *He came not to Destroy mens Lives but to save them.*

26. Because, People of divers *Religions* in one Nation, if not tollerated, must some of them be destroyed or removed, by banishment? If destroyed, the Constancy and Patience of the Sufferers for their Faith, moving *Pity* and *Compassion*, makes men more ready to own, then to reject their Faith; and so rather multiplies, than lessens the number of its *Professors*; if banished, this renders the Banished as so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to disturb the Peace and Tranquillity of their own native Country. There is therefore in order to the outward welfare of all Nations, a kind of necessity for a *Tolleration* in them of all *Religions*.

27. Because, to impose upon mens Consciences begets a hatred against the Imposers in those who are imposed upon, and forced thereby to violate their Consciences towards God, in matters of Worship.

28. Because, men are commanded to be subject to the Powers that are, for Conscience sake, and therefore such Powers ought not to persecute men for *Conscience sake*, being that is prescribed for the Rule of Obedience, the Scriptures saying, *Be ye subject not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.*

SECT. 5.

Several Sayings collected from the Speeches,
and Writings of King *James*, and King *Charles*
the First.

WE find it asserted by King *James* in his Speech to the Parliament, in the year 1609. who said, 'That it is a pure Rule in Divinity, That God never loves to plant his Church with VIOLENCE and BLOOD; and furthermore said, 'It was usually the condition of Christians to be PERSECUTED, but not to PERSECUTE.

And we find the same things in substance asserted again, by his Son *Charles the First*, in his Book known by the Name of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, Printed for R. Royston, as followeth.

Pag. 67. In his Prayer to God, he said, 'Thou seest how much Cruelty among Christians is acted, under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unless we crucifie one another.

Pag. 28. 'Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Pag. 70. 'Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformation by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal Disputations, among those that are most concerned in the Differences, whom, not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

'Sure in Matters of Religion, those Truths gain most upon mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with Secular Violence, which weakens Truth with Prejudices.

Pag. 115. It being an Office, not only of Humanity, rather

to use *Reason* then *Force*, but also of *Christianity* to seek *Peace*, and *enſue* it.

Pag. 91, 92. 'In point of true conſcientious *tenderneſs*, I have often declared, how little I deſire my *Laws* and *Scepter* ſhould intrench on *Gods Sovereignty*, which is the *only King of mens Conſciences*.

Pag. 128. 'Nor do I deſire any man ſhould be further ſubject unto me, then all of us may be ſubject unto *God*.

Concerning Oaths.

Pag. 76. 'The injoyning of *Oaths*, upon *People*, muſt needs in things doubtfull be *Dangerous*, as in things unlawful *Damnable*.

Some words of *Advice* from *CHARLES the Firſt*, to the then *Prince of Wales*, now *King of England*, &c.

Page 165. 'My Counſel and Charge to you is, That you ſeriously conſider the former real or objected *Miſcarriages*, which might occasion my *Troubles*, that you may avoid them, &c.

'Beware of *Exaſperating* any *Factions*, by the *Croſneſs* and *Aſperity* of ſome mens *Paſſions*, *Humors*, and *private Opinions*, imployed by you, grounded only upon differences in leſſer matters, which are but the *Skirts* and *Suburbs* of *Religion*, wherein a *Charitable Connivance*, and *Chriſtian Tolleration*, often *Diſſipates* their ſtrength, when rougher *Oppoſition Fortifies*, and puts the deſpised and oppreſſed party into ſuch *Combinations*, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their *Perſecutors*, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar *commiſſeration*, which attends all that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of *Religion*.

Pag. 166. 'Take heed that outward *Circumſtances* and *Formalities* of *Religion* devour not all.

Pag. 164. 'Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised
'in *remitting*, rather then *exalting* the rigor of the Laws, there
'being nothing worse then *Legal Tyranny*.

To these Sayings we add more, as Collected out of the same
Book in duodecimo.

IN his Prayer, page 1. 'O never suffer me for any reason of
'State to go against the *Reason* of Conscience, which is
'highly to fight against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of
'our Consciences.

P. 121. 'Break in sunder, Oh Lord, all violent *Confederati-*
ons to do wickedly and injuriously.

Page 136. 'Thou, Oh Lord, shalt destroy them that speak
'Lyes; the Lord will abhor both the Blood-thirsty and Deceit-
'ful men.

Page 164. 'Church Affairs should be mannaged neither
'with Tyranny, Parity, nor Popularity—neither people
'oppressed.

Page 168. He declares his willingness for fair satis-
faction unto all, and against Covetousness, and Supersti-
tion.

Page 171. 'Oh thou that art the God of *Reason* and *Peace*,
'loosen our hearts—and persuade us to accept of *Peace*
'with thy self, and both to secure and preserve Peace among our
'selves, as men and *Christians*—Condemn us not to our
'passions, which are destructive both of our selves and others;
'Clear up our Understandings to see thy Truth, both in *Reason*
'as men, and in *Religion* as *Christians*.

Page 180. 'Stir up all *Parties* Pious Ambitions to over-
'come each other with *Reason*, *Moderation*, and such *Self-den-*
'al as becomes, &c.

Page 200. 'O thou Sovereign of our Souls, the only Com-
'mander of our Consciences.

And further, in his Advice to the Prince of Wales
now KING, &c.

Page 234. 'The best Government and highest Sovereignty you can attain unto, is, To be subject to God, that the Scepter of his Word, and Spirit may rule in your heart.

Page 239. He pleads for better Arguments for Convincement, then Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

Pag. 241. 'Always keep up solid Piety, and those Fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial Favour and Justice.

Pag. 242. 'My Charge and Counsel to you is, that as you need no palliations for any design, so that you study really to exceed in true and constant Demonstrations of Goodness, Piety and Vertue (towards the people) even all these men that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion, so you shall neither fear any detection, (as they do who have but the Mask of Goodness) nor shall you frustrate the just Expectations of your people.

Pag. 243. 'Use all Princely Arts and Clemency to heal the Wounds, that the Smart of the Cure may not equal the Anguish of the hurt.

Pag. 244. 'As your quality sets you beyond any Duel with any Subject, so the nobleness of your mind must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your Anger upon the many.

Pag. 248. 'Keep you to true Principles of Piety, Vertue, and Honour; you shall never want a Kingdom.

In his Meditations on Death; pag. 346 'It is indeed a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accuser, Parties and Judge.

*Some few Errors and Defects having escaped the Press, the
Reader may Correct.*

Page 9. Line 26. for *Actions*, read *Axioms*. p. 11. l. 19. for
repugnatum, read *repurgatum*. l. 20. for *Persus*, read *Persas*. p. 12.
l. 9. for *distinguished*, read *extinguished*. p. 13. l. 12. for *counsel like*,
read *like counsel*.

THE END.
